

Resist This Phenomenal Price Rise

There has been a lot of cry now-a-days, even by the ruling Congress about the phenomenal rise in prices of all commodities, more particularly of those which constitute our daily necessity of life. This cry by the ruling Congress is of course, punctuated by a strenuous effort on their part to explain away this phenomena sometimes by lamentation over the foul exercise of the greedy profiteers and blackmarketeers sometimes by squarely accusing the opposition political parties for creating 'chaos' in this 'orderly' world and also sometimes by making bright discoveries of world importance such as the present price rise in our country is a part of global phenomena. Nobody will believe that the Congress leaders are absolutely unaware of the utter fallacy of this global analogy. The phenomenal price rise in a country like India where a great majority of population lives below poverty line, where the daily minimum income of a worker of the lowest rung of 37 n.p. has been further corroded by the recent price increase can never be compared with the state of affairs in Western countries where income of the common people compares more or less favourably with the marginal price rise if any. To isolate the question of price rise from that of rise in income is deliberate attempt to hood-wink the people. One is apt to relish these stories of the Congress leaders. But then, one should not be so unpatriotic as to lose faith in the 'bold' effort of the Congress to establish Democratic socialism in this vast country!

Now what the Congress is most Navied, is to canvass with fresh gusto about their 'progressive' steps and somehow hold tight their 'socialist' apparel even against the facts of life. And what are these facts of life? Congress has pledged to remove poverty of the masses; but so many years have passed, so many years even in the 'new era' of Congress history have gone by, but the poverty of the masses has not only not diminished, but has surpassed all previous limits. Congress categorically assured the people that it would bring down prices of all essential commodities and make them available to them, but just in one year that is during 1972 Dec. to 1973 Dec. the price index has gone up by about 30% than the previous year. Congress had promised to the people that it would solve the growing problem of unemployment. Some crash programmes were taken in this regard with and obvious intention to drag the unemployed youths within its fold. But the facts corroborate that this problem like all other problems of life has assumed now a still more monstrous proportion

than ever. Their other pledges like the maintenance of law and order in the society, establishment of stable governments in the states, restoration of normal atmosphere in the academic world, routing of corruption from the administrative field etc. etc. are similarly proved to be as hollow as their pledge of 'garibi hatao'. All these black lies were mischievously intended to befool the common toiling masses and shield the reactionary character of the ruling Congress before the people.

Our country is now seething with popular discontent against the Congress rule particularly for its failure in the food front. Its failure to arrest the ever soaring price level of all commodities has caused great indignation among the people. No one is in doubt now that it is the ruling party, destined to serve the aggregate interest of capitalism, that is solely responsible for this unbearable situation in the food front. Fresh imposition of indirect taxes, continuous deficit financing, its benevolent attitude to the industrialists and the business section

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RAILWAYMEN URGED FOR UNITED STRUGGLE

"The demand for 'Political Rights to all Railwaymen' should be incorporated in the AIRF charter of demands as one of the basic demands", said Comrade Pritish Chanda, Secretary All India Committee UTUC (Lenin Sarani) before eight thousand delegates of the National Convention of the All India Railwaymen's Federation held in New Delhi on February 27th. A big convention of Indian Railwaymen under the auspices of AIRF was held on 27th Feb., '74 at Delhi, attended by many thousand delegates from all the zones and representing all Unions and Categorical Associations, which was termed as "historic and unprecedented" by Com. Pritish Chanda, "because of its composition and character". The convention was not a stereotype one and assumed special significance because of participation of major Central Trade Union organisations and rival Railway Unions, of course NFIR (INTUC) remaining out of it conspicuously. Sarvasree S. A. Dange (AITUC), Md. Ismail M.P. (CITU) and several others addressed the convention which was inaugurated by the AIRF President Com. George Fernandez.

Strongly criticising the anti-labour policy and role of

the Congress Government, Comrade Chanda cited a recent speech by the Railway Minister Mr. L. N. Mishra, in Patna to show how the Government, as an employer, is resorting to fascist tactics to suppress the legitimate democratic movement of the employees. In his speech at a Patna meeting on February 8th, the Railway Minister had threatened to discharge the employees who would join the strike while promising promotion and financial benefit to strike-breakers and jobs for their children. The UTUC (Lenin Sarani) strongly condemns this policy of the Government, which, like private employers is creating a gang of hirelings and goondas to act as black-leggers. The Government has betrayed its real fascist character by adopting such a policy of abusing public money in buying bootlickers while refusing to meet the employees' legitimate demand for bonus.

To resist this fascist onslaught, Comrade Chanda urged the railwaymen to firmly stick to their strike decision till they realised their immediate common demands along with the demand for political rights to all railwaymen.

In this connection, Comrade Chanda, clarifying the stand of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) said that the situation in the

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Delegate Session—A.I.D.S.O. Conference, Cuttack, Orissa

Com. Shibdas Ghosh's brilliant exposition of some vital questions of life and fervent appeal to the Students and Youths

[We are glad to publish below the illuminating speech of Com. Shibdas Ghosh, an outstanding Marxist Philosopher, the leader and teacher of our party made in the delegate session of the All-India Conference of A.I.D.S.O. recently held at Cuttack, Orissa. We are sure, it will be of immense help to all of us to grasp the various problems of society and education that are affecting the life of the people.

—Ed. P. Era.]

Members of the Presidium and Comrade Delegates

A request has already been made that I should speak in English but at the same time in Hindi—perhaps meaning a peculiar kind of admixture of Hindi and English. I do not know how to speak that way. Anyway, considering the present composition and nature of the assembly, I shall speak in English.

Now, first of all let me express my heart-felt greetings to all the delegates.

Comrades, you have come from different parts of the country. Many of you have travelled a long distance and have taken much trouble to come here to take active part in the deliberations of the All India Students' Conference, to chalk out your programme, meaning a strategic programme of struggle having a clear-cut concept and idea about the present day problems, confronting our lives. I also congratulate the leaders and the organisers of the All India D.S.O. conference, particularly the D.S.O. workers of Orissa State for making such a nice arrangement and for handling problems, relating to such a gigantic Conference so smoothly within a short period.

Comrades, the All India Students' Conference, organised by the All India D.S.O. is taking place at a time when our country is passing through a very critical situation—political, economic, social and more so, in the field of cultural and ethical activities of the society. You have all noticed and I think, all the right-thinking persons of our country are noticing with much agony and anxiety that there is a steady decline in our moral and ethical standard. Now a days, it is not an isolated act of this sect or that sect, of this group or that group—who do not bother about any standard of culture, of any norm of ethics and morality. Today, moral depravity has assumed such a proportion and has taken such a naked form that it may seem just like a biological natural affair to many people. Indeed, there are empiricists engaged in so-called scientific research work, who have concluded almost like this. As if it is a race, to-day living in India which has got a biological naturalness of not making any concern towards any kind of values. By this what they want to suggest is that, as if some biological intrinsic factors are inherent in our people for which they are basically incapable of making such concerns. To conclude like this is not only unscientific and unhistoric but simply preposterous. Be that as it may, what is agitating the mind of every honest thinking person is, why this suffocating situation? Why such an unbearable phenomenon, a heart-breaking phenomenon developed in our society? You will have to probe into the deep of the problem. Because, I think, this is a very important question.

So important a question, if not correctly handled with, if we cannot correctly handle the question and find out the correct answer, I am afraid, whether we can also correctly lead political battles in our country to their logical conclusions, whether we can solve, we can take active measures and steps, concrete steps to bring about a fundamental change in our politico-economic and social structure and thereby solve the burning economic and other problems of our country. Because, as you know, political, economic and all social problems are always closely linked up with certain questions, with certain vital questions without solving which you cannot solve any of the items of these problems. These are questions relating to power set-up, politico-economic and social system of the country. These are all related to the class character of the state and the particular and peculiar character of our economic system, which we call capitalism, a capitalist economic system. Everything, every social malady affecting our life is cropping up from this material base and from these two important factors. Again, the most important of these two is the capitalist state, the state controlled by the exploiting bourgeois class in furtherance of their class designs, class motives and class exploitations with a view to consolidate and further consolidate the present capitalist system not only to the detriment of the interest of the Indian people but even at the cost of the lives of hundreds of millions of people living here. So comrades, you should always remember that whatever may be the tall talks of the ruling bourgeois class and their parties, in reality, they have no concern about the people. Even when they talk of nation and national interest, their sole purpose is to exploit the patriotic feeling of the masses in furtherance of their bourgeois class motives. So, nationalism, which during the period of independence struggle was to some extent progressive in nature and to that extent served the interest of the people, has now become a privilege and a weapon in the hands of the ruling bourgeoisie to deceive and hoodwink the masses in order to distract the attention of the people from the real problem to a fake one. On and often the ruling bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois parties use this deceptive weapon to keep the masses away from the main current of the revolutionary struggles. To educate the masses not to be deceived by this trick of the bourgeois and the petty-bourgeois parties, is of paramount importance. To grasp this approach correctly you should always bear in mind that ours is a class divided society. Our nation is not an indivisible one. Whether we like or dislike it, if we are conscious, we cannot ignore the stark reality that our society, too, is a class divided society.

Comrades, always remember that antagonistic classes and class struggles appeared in the society at a particular phase of development of production in history and from then on, classes and class struggles existed and are still continuing to exist, something like independent of our will, and class struggle is acting as the lever in the process of development of human society. Until the classes, the class exploitation, the class struggles and the class instrument of oppression and coercion, i.e. the state, disappear in course of development of class struggle from the arena

Whoever, in a class divided society, speaks of 'Nation' 'National Interest' 'Educational Reform' etc. in general terms without any reference to the classes is either an ignorant or a hypocrite

of the development of human society the society remains as a field of intensive class battle. So, there can be no single approach to the problems of national interest, national unity, education and educational reforms. All approaches to these problems, whether progressive or reactionary, whether serving the interest of the bourgeoisie openly or in disguise, or serving the interest of the toiling masses and their revolutionary struggles are to be judged on the anvil of class struggle and class political outlook. All other ways to find out a correct approach and programme of struggle are not only deceptive but dangerous too. Any honest thinking people, who talk of revolution, will have to understand this question. Because, if they are really interested in bringing about social transformation, in bringing about a fundamental change in the politico-economic and social structure, then they will have to know the laws, the very laws which are governing all the activities in the process of development of class struggle. Unless and until we get to know this, we cannot accelerate the process of change in the society. We may have a dream of social change and revolution. But we cannot have any impact or influence on that process. In that case, all our theories will be sterile and our action will be a blind one, in spite of our devotion and dedication. I believe it and I mean it. So, whoever living in a class divided society talks of 'nation', 'national interest', 'social development', 'social interest', 'educational reforms' etc. in a general term without making any special reference to the classes and class interest—he is either ignorant, or what shall I say, he is a hypocrite. They are either ignorants, simpletons, philistines or they are hypocrites. Take for example, the case of the CPI and the CPI(M) in this regard. Both of them still claim that they are Marxist-Leninists. These two parties and their student wings, the AISF, and the SFI, in tune with the ruling bourgeois class are advocating for 'Job-oriented' or 'Employment-oriented' or 'Production-oriented' education. Do they not understand, which they should have if they were at all Marxist-Leninists, that the scheme of 'Job-oriented' or 'Employment-oriented' education is solely designed by the ruling bourgeoisie to channelise the entire education on to the line of purely informative and technical education instead of providing our students with a truly democratic, secular and scientific education under the pretext of providing a booster to production. It is not so difficult to understand why the ruling bourgeois class and their parties are advocating such a scheme in the name of bringing about educational reforms, but I am really at a loss to understand how parties like CPI, CPI(M), claiming as Marxist-Leninists can support such a sinister scheme and talk in almost similar tune with the ruling bourgeoisie in this regard in the field of educational reforms. In the circumstances, what shall I call these people, ignorants, simpletons or hypocrites?

Though I know, people generally talk of these questions in general terms and many of you, too, often speak in this way without always making any reference to the classes and class interest and without knowing how to correlate these questions with the existing class struggle continuously go-

ing on and taking place in the society. Whether you are conscious of it or not, it matters little. You may be ignorant of the existing class struggle, the impact of which has got a great influence and direct bearing in your life and thinking. So, if you do not know how to correlate these questions with the existing class struggle and class interest, then you will invariably commit mistake in spite of your honesty and dedication. Honesty and dedication are the ABC conditions, just the starting point, without which nothing can be done. Because, if a good line, a correct theory, a correct line is grasped, even then if a man is not honest and dedicated, he cannot give it a shape, he cannot translate it into action. For translating any idea into action, be it for the revolutionaries or for the counter-revolutionaries, they need honesty. If they want to mean something, if they want to change a power structure, if they want to do revolution or counter-revolution they need dedication, they need a kind of discipline, they need determination. These are fundamental things. Without these qualities of character you cannot do anything. But the next important question and the most vital one is to have a correct and scientific outlook and a correct base political line, without which in spite of dedication and power of sacrifice, you can do nothing, rather you will do something harmful. Because, everything when you do, if it is wrong, if it cannot serve the purpose of the people if it cannot accelerate the process of change, then it is not neutral, not nothing. It will invariably, directly or indirectly, have an adverse effect on progressive movements, will strengthen the reactionaries. Every action has its reaction. If it is correct, there will be a correct reaction. If it is incorrect, don't think it will have no reaction. Not that. It will have bad reaction, giving scope for the reactionaries to consolidate, this way or that way, the existing system. So, to have a correct approach and a correct base political line and a programme of struggle are of fundamental importance. You cannot bypass it or can not look at it with a non-serious attitude, that "let us struggle, let us work, the correct political line and thinking will automatically evolve out of the struggle." Only the humbugs, the demagogues, the self-seekers with an ulterior motive, say this to confuse the issue at discussion. Yes, you will have to work. As I have already said, if you do not work, then even with a bunch of good programmes and beautiful noble ideology you are completely impotent to produce anything. You will be worthless. In that case, you can't do anything. So, that is a primary condition necessary. For us dedication, work, discipline, going to the masses are all important and necessary things only to thrash out and pushing the correct revolutionary political line among the masses, only to educate them in order to organise them in their day-to-day struggles and conduct these struggles in such a way and in such a style as to develop political power of the people. Comrades, why do we go to the people? Certainly not to simply educate them in the ordinary and academic sense of the terms. Education here has got a specific purpose—to organise the masses in their struggles against

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For the logical culmination of all movements the leadership of a genuine revolutionary party is essential

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allowing them to fetch as much profit as they will by arbitrarily fixing the prices of all commodities, Congress Government's own unreasonable enhancement of prices of its controlled goods and services, its credit and monetary policies, its granting of enormous loans from the nationalised banks to the monopolists and hoarders helping them in this speculative activities and above all, congress members, including its MLA's, MPS, and Ministers in collusion with the vested class to fleece the people have pushed up prices of all commodities to an abnormal level.

All these factors have contributed towards the phenomenal increase in the price-level telling adversely upon the living conditions of the common people and pushing them further beyond the limit of forbearance. Added to this, the occasional shortage of essential food stuff and other necessities, created solely due to hoarding and black-marketing, thriving under the benign influence of the ruling party and other reactionary political force has aggravated the situation still further. What is taking place in Gujarat and other parts of the country is but a loud protestation against the policies of the Congress Governments and their dismal failure in the foodfront. The anti-Congress wave is again sweeping over the country as witnessed before early in 1967. The recent by-election held in Maharashtra and other places reflect a positive anti-congress mood of the people. It is not surprising therefore that Smt. Gandhi being aware of this strong public mood against her party and leadership is adopting all sorts of nefarious tactics, violating all democratic norms and principles, and utilising to the maximum

the administrative machinery under her control for petty party interest. Fresh assurances are profusely being given anew and new projects just undertaken to mollify the angry mood of the people.

The current agitation in Gujarat requires some particular attention and a depth in study with a view to developing a well organised mighty democratic movement throughout the country against the anti-people policies of the Congress Government. As a result of 'democratic' rebuff of the Congress Government, more than 100 persons have already been killed and several hundreds injured due to police firing since the outbreak of present agitation. The other figures are: firing:- more than 500 rounds; teargassing—beyond counting; Section 144 and curfew imposed on more than 43 towns and cities for days together and lastly the Army had to be deployed in Ahmedabad with "shoot at sight" order. We are sure that when this issue of 'Proletarian Era' will reach our readers these figures will become inadequate and back-dated in the context of newer atrocities that will be let loose in the meantime. In short, the entire state of Gujarat has turned into a veritable battlefield. What is taking place in Gujarat has an echo throughout the country. Bundh and strikes, All-India strikes now make regular headlines in daily newspapers. Jute and textile workers' strike, anti-price rise and anti-fare rise movements etc. denote a seething popular unrest often shaping into clear outbursts against the Congress Government throughout the entire country.

In order to utilise this unique situation when the so-called radical image of the Congress is totally shattered and to develop a mighty organised mass struggle for

transforming the critical situation it is of utmost importance to realise that only by way of establishing the leadership of a correct revolutionary party over the people such movement can be developed to its logical culmination. However intense may be the feeling of the people against the present state of affairs wrought by Congress, one should not forget for a moment that sporadic unorganised outbursts as seen now in Gujarat can, by no means, lead the people to their cherished goal of freedom from capitalist oppression and exploitation. If we look at the nature of leadership provided to these agitations in Gujarat we can have no doubt as to the truth of this contention. What are those political parties that are behind this struggle, utilising the popular wrath against the ruling Congress for petty party interest? It is Swatantra at one place, Jan Sangh and Congress (O) at others. Even the dissident Congressmen in Gujarat have joined this fray only to discredit the officially blessed leadership and improve their lot. None of these political parties can be deemed as the champion of democracy, advancing the causes of the people. Rather, they have established themselves as arch-reactionaries, compared to whom even the ruling Congress was able for a movement to project itself as 'progressive'. So to put faith in these parties who are working upon this situation only from an election angle will be mere stupidity. The question now arises, what is the remedy then and how the toiling masses throughout the country can be mobilised against the vested class and their best representative, the ruling Congress. The remedy lies in the formation of a left and democratic front to be created on the basis of a minimum democratic programme of

action against the vested class on an all-national scale. In 1967, when the Congress was disintegrated into two separate bodies and a mighty anti-congress tide of popular sentiment was felt in every corner of the country, the left and democratic forces were offered for the first time an unique opportunity to develop and organise a positive left alternative to the Congress leadership before the masses by building up a left and democratic front on the basis of an agreed minimum programme on an all-India Scale. Our party had then approached the other left parties, particularly the CPI and the CPI(M), to make the best possible effort to develop such a front. But these big left parties, out of sheer opportunism turned down this proposal and began to vie with each other in developing opportunistic alliances with the ruling congress or other reactionary and communal parties and forces for furthering their narrow party interest. Both the CPI and the CPI(M) were generously offering progressive certificates to the ruling Congress led by Smt. Gandhi for her so called progressive steps like bank nationalisation and thereby helped the Congress (R) to restore its lost image before the people. So owing to the sheer opportunism and petty-sectarianism practised by the CPI and the CPI(M) the situation which prevailed then conducive to the growth and development of a mighty left democratic mass movement could not be utilised in the best way and a left alternative leadership could not be presented before the people throughout the country. The reason underlying this failure to emerge a left front is the relative weakness in the organisational strength of a real revolutionary working class party, namely the S.U.C.I. It is only a genuine

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Indian Capitalism has already become imperialist in nature through the formation of Finance Capital and Financial Oligarchy by the merger of Banking and Industrial Capital which is controlling the entire economic life of the society

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all sorts of injustices and exploitations, and in that way finally to develop in them a political power, invincible in nature, which can ultimately determine the destiny of the nation overthrowing the despotic rule of the country. This is why we go to the masses,—not with a philanthropic attitude of serving them as the Ramkrishna Missionaries often do. They rather confuse the issue. Going to the people is a great thing, but going to the people with a wrong remedy is the worst thing. Because, as they themselves are confused (in case they are honest) they cannot but spread confusion in the mass-mind. Moreover, they try to distract the attention of the masses from revolutionary struggle to the mystic alley of blind faith. In that case, I will say, leave the people alone. It is the people, who themselves will one day find out the correct way. But don't give them wrong remedy, don't confuse them, don't mislead them, don't take advantage of their ignorance, wrong understanding, prejudices, many obsolete ideas still prevailing in their mind. Don't take advantage of all these. So, our business, our purpose is to go to the masses to educate them with a view to organise them, the sole purpose of which, even of organising them, is not to lead their struggles on day-to-day economic issues or sufferings only, but ultimately to give birth to political power of the people so that one day, the people, as an organised political force, rise up to the occasion, take up arms and decide the destiny of the nation.

So, in a class divided society like ours, talks of nation, national interest, education and educational reforms, interest of the students and of the people—if are not talked in terms of class references and in its relationship with the existing class struggle, then one is sure to commit mistake and will invariably be played in the hands of the bourgeoisie. As there can be no single approach in a class divided society, you will have to be very particular in ascertaining whether an approach to these problems reflects the interest of the majority of the people and is conducive to the growth and development of the revolutionary struggle of the masses or it is an approach which is basically in tune with the ruling bourgeoisie, which has usurped all the wealth and property, the means of production of the society and is leading the country to ruination.

Comrades, you should always remember that in a class divided society, educational reforms and all educational problems can only be posed from two angularities, from two world outlooks. One, reflecting the world outlook of the bourgeoisie, the ruling class, the exploiters, aims at tuning, patterning and manning the education system in such a way as to develop certain traits of mind which are inimical to social progress, namely, neglect of duty, professional ego-centrism, a complete indifference to the social and political problems of the country, to develop a mental faculty which is not bent on logic and science but naturally bent on belief, religion and all sorts of obscurant ideas, and finally to develop contempt for social action. Another is to approach all these questions with a revolutionary outlook, that is, proletarian class outlook to open the gate for reasoning, scientific understanding, for a scientific faculty of mind, bent of mind which will invariably be conducive to the growth and development of the revolutionary movements of the

country, a movement which is so urgent and necessary to bring about a fundamental political, economic and social change in our country—that is, a movement aiming at the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie from power and freeing our production system, thereby science, technology, morality, ethics, educational institutions, philosophy, values from the tentacles and grips of capitalist exploitation. So, there can be only two approaches in relation to the educational problems and educational reforms. Not one single approach.

Comrades, we are living in a capitalist country, may be backward in comparison to the Western rich imperialist-capitalist countries ; but no doubt ours is also a capitalist country. And what is the character of this capitalism ? It has already become imperialist in nature, in so far as the formation of finance capital and a financial oligarchy through the merger of banking and industrial capital, controlling the entire economic life of the society are concerned and in so far as the extent and amount of export of capital is concerned. I have discussed and dealt with these issues at length in the last day's session, i.e., in the inaugural session and I do not think it necessary now in this session again to go on arguing on this issue. You will have ample time to thrash out these questions, discussing and rediscussing and ultimately coming to a conclusion. But one thing is sure that, it is a capitalist system. That, here in our country we have got a form of state which can only be called as the bourgeois national state, i.e. a capitalist state machine. And the ruling bourgeoisie is doing everything possible for further consolidation of the capitalist system in our country. And that the capitalist relations of production and the capitalist motive force of production have already become obsolete in so far as the forces of economy are concerned, they are acting as a brake in the process. So, it is giving birth to crises, one after another. One measure is taken by the bourgeoisie to come out from, to get out of the impasse of a crisis only to be swamped by a greater crisis. And it is happening in our country. We are coming out of one crisis only to re-enter into a much graver crisis. In this way, our economy is arrested in a vicious circle. It cannot have and it is not getting a breathing space for development. It is a reactionary capitalism, part and parcel of the present day decadent and moribund world capitalist system. It is distinctly different in character than that of capitalism of the 18th. century, when capitalism developed on the basis of free competition and when international capitalism, its role and character were progressive in nature and when capitalism enjoyed continuous widening of internal and external markets. And in those early stages of its development, capitalism was more attached to liberty, individual freedom and democracy and less attached to militarism and bureaucracy. Now as a world system, capitalism has become decadent and moribund. It has reached the highest stage, the stage of imperialism and has become reactionary. Moreover, it has entered in its third phase of intensive general crisis. So, it is giving birth to crises, one after another. Finding no other way to come out of the impasse, it has taken recourse to continuous militarisation of economy and so capitalism today is becoming more and more attached to militarism, bureaucracy, crisis and war. This is more or less

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The science of Marxism-Leninism if properly understood is a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class—more powerful than the guns

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true in case of capitalism everywhere, both in developed, and in under-developed countries. So, this crisis and instability in the economic field are being reflected in the superstructure, in the moral and cultural activities of the society. By superstructure we mean the ideological, political, ethical, cultural, philosophical, artistic views of the society—these we mean the superstructure of the economic base. So, the economic uncertainty, the crises, the acute crises, and the instability are naturally reflected in the superstructure. Comrades, herein lies the crux of all of our problems, our social maladies.

Comrades, always remember that as our revolution is anti-Capitalist Socialist in nature, to pave the way to a successful revolution, all varieties of social democracy, the forces of compromise between labour and capital are to be completely defeated in the ideological field. Except those so-called elites, living in an affluent condition of life, the real intent of the theory and practice of Indira Gandhi's Democratic Socialism is exposed to a very great extent before the larger section of the masses. But the real intent of the advocates of the theories and tactics of Peoples Democratic Revolution of all varieties in our country are not yet exposed before the larger section of the masses.

Left minded people at large being misled by these advocates of Peoples Democratic Revolution do not yet understand that unlike China, here in India we have got a capitalist state machine and hence the strategy and tactics of Peoples Democratic Revolution is nothing but an utopia imposed on the very objective process of revolution working inside our society, that the real intent of the theory and tactics of the Peoples Democratic Revolution is to distract the attention of the masses from the real enemy to a fake one. Therefore, unlike China, the theory of Peoples Democratic Revolution in our country is nothing but one of the varieties of the social democratic trends in our political movements.

So Comrades, if you really want to put an end to capitalism you will have to give defeat to both the theory and practice of Democratic Socialism of Indira Gandhi as well as the theories and tactics of Peoples Democratic Revolution of all varieties in our country through painstaking ideological-political struggle and work in the masses. Whoever thinks otherwise, no matter under whatsoever pretext, is actually falling in line with the social democrats.

Comrades, I don't like to speak in the air.* That is not my habit. When I speak, I speak concentrating my entire mind on the subject. Naturally, I have the right to demand of you that you should also try to concentrate your attention on the discussion. Comrades, I know the subject I am discussing may sound and seem a bit stiffer. But as you are to breakthrough the situation, you cannot do it so easily. You will have to learn and re-learn. You will have to educate and re-educate yourselves. You will have to know many things in spite of difficulties. Without knowing things you cannot influence the situation. How can you forget that you will have to play a decisive and a leading role? So, you must be attentive, careful. You should also remember that you are students of Revolutionary University. If you really dare to think that you, the students, have the courage and determination to lead our country, to deliver something good, then you must be attentive. Otherwise, it is pointless to deliver a speech on this or that subject. I don't find any reason.

Comrades, I shall not take much of your time, though I had many things in my mind to discuss before you. What I like to highlight now is the magnitude of the problems of unemployment. Comrades, all of you after completing your education, will have to face the problem of unemployment. Except a few revolutionary cadres from among you, every individual member of our larger community of youths and students who may be the supporters of revolution but not fully engaged and dedicated in the revolutionary struggles will have to face this problem. And I am speaking precisely of those members of our larger community of the youths and students. It is a real and heart-breaking problem for them. After completing their course of education, they will have to face the magnitude of the problem of unemployment. They will feel all the concomitant evil of the present day society, what many of them in their student life now do not feel. But when they will enter into the family life, take up the responsibilities, they will marry and have children, then they will surely start feeling what kind of social environment they are living in. Then they will find that all their dreams are shattered. They may also find at that time that they cannot live only with their kith and kin in isolation. The existing social maladies will have direct influence and bearing even on their private life which they use to think most secret and sacred. They may realise at that time that they can not even save their secret and so-called sacred private life from being polluted and degraded by the existing maladies in the social environment. This is a must. Probably, they will learn it then. So is it not better that without dreaming of such a kind of useless, degrading, humiliating, and parasitic way of life, we dedicate ourselves fully in revolutionary struggles for bringing about a fundamental change of our society and thereby pave the way for the freest, widest and speediest development of all individuals of our society i.e. their political, economic, cultural and ethical way of life? For that, you will have to adhere to a revolutionary ideology—Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism—which speaks in terms of class references, which speaks to you, that if you want to bring about a fundamental change in the socio-economic-political system, you must have, along with your struggling ability, a researchive mind, you will have to develop in you an aptitude of constantly and continuously learning from the masses. In this way, knowing the problems thoroughly and crystalising your ideas, you will be able to find out the correct way, the correct path. This is why Marx one day told the oppressed, exploited and downtrodden people of the whole world that don't worry, there may be arms, guns, artilleries, anti-aircraft guns in the hands of the bourgeoisie, the capitalist rulers, they may have mechanised army, but Marxism, a science, is such a powerful weapon in your hands, if properly understood and applied to, it can give birth to an invincible power. If you can learn Marxism-Leninism thoroughly and become able to apply it correctly into practice, then and then only you can grasp revolution correctly, you can grasp the process of development of society—trace the inherent hidden law which is governing the activities of all the forces, stipulating the development of the society, that means, if you can get to know the law of development of class struggle then you will acquire an invincible power and ultimately you will be the conqueror of the modern world. Yes, you can conquer it, provided you can master over the science, Marxism-Leninism. No

* In the distant corner of the Hall two delegates were found talking.

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The surest way to live and die with honour is to take active part in the revolutionary struggle of the masses for bringing about revolutionary transformation of society

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arms can compete with this. It is a decisive weapon in the hands of the working class, the masses and the toilers. So what is most urgently needed at present is to acquire knowledge which is creative and also decisive, which alone can provide you with such power as to see those hidden laws which are governing the entire course of development of the society. In this way, while engaging yourself in the struggles of the masses and other day-to-day political work, if you can prepare yourselves politically and ideologically, only then you can trace out the specific laws which are governing the specific class struggles and understand all its peculiarities, appearing, developing in a particular environment of a given society.

So, Marxism-Leninism is a science which must be carefully studied and re-studied, studied in a way so that you can apply it into practice, studied in a way so that you can deliver it to the masses, not only to write a book and surely not to quote from it at your sweet will. Marxism teaches us that to know and to realise are different things. If you can realise Marxism-Leninism, then you can put it before the people in the easiest way and you will find that people understand it easily. Marxism is the philosophy of life and as far as I am concerned, I have conducted many a schools of illiterate peasants and workers in the rural and urban areas and what I have experienced is that, if Marxism-Leninism, Dialectical Materialism, even the most intricate problems of science can be spoken in a language and in a style which is understandable for the peasants also—then peasants do understand, workers do understand in spite of being illiterate, better than people usually known as intellectuals. It is my personal experience, because I personally take these classes in the rural areas, in the urban areas. So, I don't believe that it is such a stiff subject which cannot be comprehended, cannot be understood and realised by the illiterate masses, downtrodden people. Rather, we should always bear in mind that it is the philosophy of life, and for that matter today, it is the philosophy of the working class, downtrodden people and the illiterate masses, can be best understood by these people, provided it is taken to them, it is put before them, placed before them in such a way, in such a language and in such a style as can be understood by them. So, if going from this conference, everyone of you individually and all of you collectively, meaning individually and collectively, take pledge—then I am sure that the history of our political movement will definitely take a new turn. Look at the hall—how many people, young people you have gathered here—if you are determined to break through and undertake all the burdens and burns of the struggles, you can definitely make a headway through the present impasse.

Comrades, remember, those who can sacrifice at the initial stage for ideology and idea—they are not many people, they are always few people—young, bright and students. At every stage of development of the society, in every country, it is the students and young people who come forward, being influenced by and imbued with the revolutionary ideology and being completely dedicated go to the masses, rouse the masses, organise them in thousands and help them in creating their political power. Then the time comes for the masses for action—that we

call revolution. Before that you will have to travel many a steps, arduous and tortuous—painful but happier. I say, this is the happier and honourable way. Yes, in this way of fighting things, it may be painful—sometimes even tortuous, but no doubt it is the honourable way to lead a life. Here in this struggle you may die, but you will die with honour, raising your head high. You shall not die with humiliation just like cats and dogs die, rotting in the street. Remember, we are all mortal beings. So, if to die, don't die begging, don't die humiliating yourself. When to die, die with honour and you have got only one surest way to live and die with honour, that is taking active part in revolutionary struggle of the masses in bringing about a revolutionary transformation of the society and for that purpose you will have to organise yourselves in thousands and close up your ranks.

Comrade, engage yourself and take active part in all the just struggles of the masses, individually and collectively and always keep up your political initiative at the fore. Your slogan should be—go to the masses, organise them, help them in creating political power so that people, the toiling masses can take up arms and bring about fundamental change of our society overthrowing bourgeoisie from power, replacing capitalism and establishing socialism. All best wishes to you. I here conclude with revolutionary greetings to you all.

Long live revolution !

Long live Marxism-Leninism !

Laid Off 3000 Jute Workers Win Victory

The management of a jute mill, "Eastern Manufacturing Co." at Titagarh, North 24 Parganas laid off 3000 jute workers on 3.12.73 as a retaliatory measure against the workers movement for full implementation of settlement on incentive and maintenance of existing facility of other incentive systems. Since then, the mill did not open.

A tripartite agreement in settlement of the disputes and for reopening of the mill was however reached at the chamber of the State Labour Minister, Dr. G. D. Nag on 19.2.74. Comrades Fatick Ghosh, Vice-President and Sanat Dutta, Secretary, Bengal Jute Mill workers Union affiliated to UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and Sunil Bhattacharjee, leader of the mill Union led the workers side.

In terms of the agreement, management had to agree to reopen the mill, take back all the 3000 workers, withdraw all vindictive measures against the workers, ensure lay off benefit as per latest circular of the Government (full wage to workmen doing two hours' duty) over and above what is stipulated in the law, bring the disputed issue under examination of the Government for final decision etc.

This is a significant achievement of the 3000 jute workers, under the leadership of Bengal Jute Mill Workers' Union, close to heel of the heroic strike struggle for 33 days. Naturally, this victory has created great amount of enthusiasm amongst the 3000 jute workers of the mill.

Announcement

The increase in Price of Proletarian Era will be effective from next issue instead of present issue.

Manager

Do not Indulge In Sectional Actions

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country and the facts of life have shown enough that the Indian Capitalist State by its ruthless exploitation has created an unbearable situation for the entire working class and against this the working people of all sectors by and large are coming up in struggles in all corners of the country. The ruling class and the ruling Government is resorting to more and more fascist path to suppress the rising tide of the legitimate struggles of the working class by attempting to ban strikes, imposition of DIR & MISA, letting loose police and military terror. Indian Railwaymen should therefore harbour no illusion for this Government, the only path remaining open to the workers is the path of protracted struggle to win not only the basic economic demands but also to overthrow the existing exploitative socio-economic structure and to bring forth a fundamental change in the social system. He said strike is inevitable. Com. Chanda emphatically said that Unity in the rank of Railwaymen is essentially required. For that all workers irrespective of categories and section should be mobilised under United banner to launch the struggle. He said, "I do not intend to analyse the reasons of growth of so many categorical associations which have gone away from the main stream of Railway T.U. movement, neither I like to put blames on any quarter—but I very much like to register my voice as well as of my organisation UTUC (L.S.) that all categorical associations and Unions should rally behind common general demands and the AIRF should create the precondition for such bigger and all-out mobilisation." While appreciating the move taken by AIRF president Com. Funandez, Com. Chanda further said that for achieving Unity—the principle of

"Unity-struggle-Unity" should be adhered to; certain codes of conduct must be followed by all if Unity is to be developed and maintained. Those who dream or attempt to monopolise the Railway T. U. movement by any particular political party will not only fail but also damage the cause of Railwaymen's struggle. Com. Chanda amongst great applause declared that for this reason the UTUC (L.S.) despite its considerable following in Railwaymen has not organised any separate Union parallel to the AIRF, notwithstanding the facts that we have had so many differences with the policies of and doings of the AIRF and its affiliated Zonal Unions, and rather our followers have and are working under the banner of the AIRF.

In conclusion, Com. Chanda reminded the railwaymen, that being the members of the largest single industry in India, they must realise that the future of militant trade union movement in the country depends to a very great extent on the success or failure of their struggle. Com. Chanda suggested that to achieve concrete gains from the convention and to pave the path of United struggle and to solidly prepare for the strike "struggle committee" should be made under the banner of the AIRF taking representatives from all categorical associations and Unions and such committee should be formed at all levels who would prepare the Railwaymen for a bigger struggle. He again urged upon all not to indulge in sectional actions in isolation but to go for all-out actions of all Railwaymen.

A resolution on the 6 point demand of the employees was adopted at the meeting. AIRF leaders and leaders of various categorical associations spoke in favour of the resolutions.

Issue Based front boils down to opportunism

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revolutionary party that can shake off all opportunistic considerations, develop a left front, preserve its unity, organise mighty left mass movement throughout the country under its leadership, isolate the petty bourgeois and social-democratic parties before the people in the midst of joint struggle and ultimately lead the growing struggles to their logical culmination.

Now at the present time in the background of strong anti-Congress mood of the people expressed in different parts of the country the necessity for developing a left and democratic front on the basis of an agreed minimum democratic programme has become all the more important. More so, because the ruling Congress under the cloak of radical slogans and postures has launched an all out offensive against the people and is bringing fascism in the country. It is, however, not surprising that the big left parties namely the CPI and the CPI(M) are giving scant attention to this immediate and foremost task despite their fire-eating vocabularies. The CPI has gone over to the side of the Congress, and in tune with their political line is striving for strengthening the hands of the so-called progressive section within the Congress. But what is the attitude and political line adopted by the more "revolutionary" the CPI(M) regarding the necessity of a left and democratic front in the present context? First of all it has rejected the idea of developing a united front of left and democratic forces as impracticable at present. Secondly, it has called for issue-based unity in place of programmatic united front of all left and democratic parties. The real motive of the CPI(M) under this issue-based unity

has been clearly revealed through its opportunist alliance with the reactionary pragati party in Orissa on the eve of elections there. As an alternative programme is called for before any election it has performed its revolutionary task by simply calling for a programme-based alliance of anti-Congress democratic parties of Orissa and U.P. One who is aware with the rank opportunism practiced by the CPI(M) may not be surprised to find that even the arch-reactionary Pragati Party in Orissa, a combination of Utkal Congress and Swatantra, has been included within this nomenclature, otherwise, the CPI(M) would not have made electoral understanding with it. The CPI(M)'s issue based unity simply boils down to this; it is a painstaking theorisation on the part of the CPI(M) to justify its opportunistic alliance with any party as per expediency.

Suffice it to say that it is the attitude and activity of the CPI(M) today that stands as the stumbling block in the way of formation of a programmatic united front of the left and democratic parties which and which alone can lead all the democratic mass movements, under the present phase of democratic struggle, to their logical culmination.

The SUCI feels that realising the present critical situation, it is the primary and bounden duty of all the left and democratic forces in the country to abandon all this opportunist lines and petty considerations and come forward to help build up a programmatic united front to carry forward the democratic movements and struggles of all sections of the oppressed people. The SUCI pledges all its efforts to realise such a programme-based united front of all left and democratic parties in the country.